JOURNEY TO INDIA BY ANEURIN BEVAN

THE Nation

May 16, 1953
20¢

# Indo-China: The Black Market War

Upsala College
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*By Claude Bourdet*

Teacher as Rebel — *Howard K. Beale*

Give It Away! — *Michael Straus*

Kingsley Martin's "Laski" — *Robert Lynd*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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# Letters

## Some Pros and Cons on Alan Barth's Article

*Dear Sirs:* I have greatly admired Alan Barth and fully appreciate his castigation of Congress on the Campus in the April 18 issue, an unusually good number. However, as one who early this month had to invoke the Fifth Amendment before the irresponsible Committee on Un-American Activities, using other and loftier grounds, in order to escape the very penalties Barth has so well described, I bitterly resent the sentence: "For my part, I think that teachers who plead the privilege against self-incrimination are neither admirable nor astute."

Will he kindly tell those who do not need to use the amendment how they may be "admirable and astute" without doing so? The alternative, it seems to me, is to strike a pose and go to jail or else to crawl and cooperate in the public rape of the Bill of Rights. If only Communists use the amendment, it will soon be gone; if those who assert their rights are destroyed, will the rights survive? Barth subtly stands aside as if the appetite of the agents of American reaction could be satisfied, with his approval, on a diet of 25,000 American Communists.

Barth . . . must see that the undermining of the "self-incrimination" part of the Fifth Amendment weakens the more important "due process" part, which the un-Americans are already bypassing by *legislative* trials that mock judicial procedure. He must know that one federal court has said that it is one's duty before a legislative inquisition to stand on the Fifth Amendment.

I am finishing an analysis of this matter and a report of my experience with the anti-democratic committee which friends are bringing out in pamphlet form under the title "I Decline." Inquiries should be addressed to me at 3518 Union Street, San Diego 1.

HARRY C. STEINMETZ

*San Diego, Cal.*

*Dear Sirs:* Mr. Barth's piece in the April 18 issue on the investigation of universities by Congressional committees is as complete and wise a statement on the universities' responsibilities as any I have seen. JACOB FINE

*Boston, Mass.*

*Dear Sirs:* I believe that *The Nation* has performed an unusually timely public service in publishing Alan Barth's article, Congress on the Campus, in the April 18 issue. E. EVERETT AUER

*East Orange, N. J.*

*Dear Sirs:* I have read Alan Barth's article, Congress on the Campus, with much interest. Although his objective of attacking the Congressional assault on liberal college professors is highly laudable, there is in my judgment a fundamental weakness in his basic approach. . . .

I see only one effective solution—enactment of a law, or a Constitutional amendment if necessary, which will specifically define and regulate [the Congressional] power of inquiry and restrict this right to the sole purpose of ascertaining facts to be utilized in the preparation of valid legislation. As it is, the Constitution is silent on the subject, and the power of Congress to inquire, for limited purposes, has been asserted by the judiciary to exist by implication. . . . I understand that Senator Kefauver has introduced a bill which attempts to regulate, inadequately, the Congressional investigation. I have written to him about it, suggesting a much broader bill.

HENRY MULLER

*Oakland, Cal.*

## Un-American Spectacle

*Dear Sirs:* A few days ago I dropped in on the Un-American Activities Committee's public hearings. What I saw was a revolting display of intolerance and cruelty. It isn't pleasant to see a young man bullied, humiliated, and insulted because he is idealistic, and indignant that tomorrow morning in our city of Los Angeles he will be a pariah among his fellows, denied his right as an American to earn a living for himself and his family. . . .

It was no less painful to hear a successful composer . . . state that on the morrow he would be at a loss to pay his rent and feed his family. It is difficult to believe that I or anyone else was seriously endangered by this elderly, frightened little man who had come to this country for "freedom" and whose family had died in German gas chambers. Or by the middle-aged barber who was hesitant about giving his address aloud for fear his home might be stoned, as has happened in similar cases in Los Angeles.

"Unfriendly" witnesses were booed by the audience, but when my friend next to me applauded such a witness, he was immediately admonished by a deputy marshal. . . .

Mr. Doyle of the committee seems basically to be an honest and sincere man. . . . It must be stated that the committee counsel presented the questions in a courteous and gentlemanly manner. But the acting chairman, Mr. Jackson, was boorish and insulting, banging his gavel in such frenzy as to leave no doubt of the persecutory nature of these inquiries. I agree with the young witness's reply to the Jacksons of the world: "You'll never pound the truth into dust with that gavel."

ARTHUR E. ROBSON, JR.

*Los Angeles, Cal.*

## Book Contest for Poets

*Dear Sirs:* I have just announced the annual Swallow Poetry Book Award for the best book of poems, of any length and without restriction upon form or subject. The award will be book publication, at usual royalty terms, and a prize of $250, of which $200 will be outright award and the other $50 an advance against royalties.

Closing date for the competition will be September 15 of each year, the first contest closing September 15, 1953. The committee of judges for the award consists of John Nerber, Alan A. Stephens, Robert Greenwood (secretary), and Alan Swallow, *ex officio*. Manuscripts submitted to the contest must be addressed to me at 2679 South York Street, Denver 10. ALAN SWALLOW

*Denver, Colo.*

## Correction

*Dear Sirs:* In my article, The Mess in Indo-China, which appeared in your issue of April 25, my statement on Franco-American expenses in Indo-China should have read: "Since 1946 the French have spent about $5,700,000,000 on the war in Indo-China. For the past few years the United States has supplied up to a third of French expenditures."

*New York* HELEN MEARS

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EDITORIALS

# The Shape of Things

## Retreat at Hell's Canyon

Nobody who followed Republican campaign oratory has much reason to be surprised that Secretary of the Interior McKay is backing away from the Hell's Canyon project. General Eisenhower had made the position his Administration would take quite clear. His complaints against the power-hungry bureaucracy, his demand for more local control of the big power projects, his petulant remark that the federal government has been trying to do everything but come into the home and tell the housewife how to wash her dishes—all this was the power-lobby line.

Nevertheless, Secretary McKay's action is profoundly dismaying. The issue in the Hell's Canyon case is extremely simple: should the federal government proceed with a great multi-purpose project that will aid flood control, navigation, and irrigation and add more than a million kilowatts to the nation's power supply, or should it be kept from doing so in order that a private company may make a profit by generating half as much power without any supplementary benefits whatever? If the nation's rivers should be used primarily for the advantage of the people who own them, there can be only one answer to that question. The Eisenhower Administration has given a wholly different answer.

Neither Hell's Canyon nor any similar project will ever be built unless the national government makes a really determined fight for it. This Administration has chosen not to fight. That the decision was only to be expected does not make it any less shocking.

## Man Without a Party

General de Gaulle's R. P. F. has reverted to the form and purpose with which it began; no longer a party, it becomes a "rally" or movement aimed at arousing sentiment for a drastic reform of the government of France. But when the General founded his *Rassemblement* in 1947 he had behind him almost 40 per cent of the voters; then he had reason to believe that the people, sick of factional politics, might put him in office as a national leader, above parties and endowed with strong executive powers. What he seemed to be aiming at was a corporative state ruled by a one-party government constitutionally elected.

The idea was not potent enough to defeat the parties or the old French fear of the man on horseback. De Gaulle's organization became a party like the rest, but cursed with ultra-nationalist policies and a disproportionate number of Vichy left-overs. Today his following, measured by the vote in the recent local elections, has dwindled to about 10 per cent. So the reconstitution of the R. P. F. as a non-party movement occurs under auspices of defeat, with the General's war-time prestige unable to provide any of the necessary glamour or élan. Its practical effect may be little beyond augmenting the power of the "traditional" right, already strengthened by heavy defections from the R. P. F.

## Fourth Down and Three to Go

Judge Luther Youngdahl's opinion dismissing four counts in the perjury indictment against Owen Lattimore, including the outrageous first count, which based a charge of perjury on Lattimore's denial that he had ever sympathized with or promoted Communist interests (see Perjury or Heresy? in *The Nation* of February 28), makes good reading in this season of heresy hunts. Only the claque of professional witch-hunters which has enlisted in McCarthy's drive for the Presidency in 1956 will question Judge Youngdahl's good faith or the cogency of his reasoning. "Communism's fallacy and viciousness can be demonstrated," he pointed out, "without striking down the protection of the First Amendment of discourse, discussion, and debate." Already, however, the snipers are at work: David Lawrence, writing in the New York *Herald Tribune*, which gave editorial indorsement to the ruling, questions the Judge's "fitness" to preside at the trial, darkly intimating that he may be one of those heretics who believe in free speech. Celebration of the decision, moreover, should be tempered by the realization that Judge Youngdahl is the rare case among District of Columbia judges of a man who was not trained by the F. B. I., schooled in the Department of Justice, and given judicial appointment as a reward for services rendered the Administration in power.

Now, of course, is Mr. Brownell's opportunity to

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demonstrate that he is not to be intimidated by McCarthy and McCarran. Acting on Judge Youngdahl's remark that the materiality of the remaining counts is very questionable, he should restore public confidence in the independence and integrity of the Department of Justice by moving their dismissal. But given the timidity of the Eisenhower Administration, it is more likely that he will order the department to appeal the decision. Even so, Lattimore's ultimate vindication has been advanced several yards; it is now fourth down and three to go.

## Wagner and His Work

Regret over the death last week of Senator Robert F. Wagner gains poignancy from the fact that in his four years of illness and retirement so many of the political gains he helped to win were swept into the discard. A calm man and a philosopher for all his reforming zeal, he surely knew that this era, too, would pass; but he must also have realized with sorrow how long it would take to restore what was being recklessly destroyed—safeguards laboriously built to protect the nation's resources, the welfare of its people, and their civic freedoms.

Tributes published since the Senator's death have taken pains to point out that the famous Wagner act formed the basis of the Taft-Hartley law that succeeded it; and technically this was true. But the profound distortion of the meaning of the National Labor Relations Act that was embodied in the new law might serve as a symbol of the fate that has overtaken many of the reforms for which Senator Wagner fought. It is sad to have him go, but far worse to see how few there are left to carry on his work.

## Danger of Retaliation

A spokesman for one branch of the chemical industry told the Ways and Means Committee on April 28 that implementation of the "trade—not aid" theory could prove "ruinous to many branches of industry." But a Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act weighed down with clauses designed to raise trade barriers instead of lowering them would not only handicap American exports but could easily "prove ruinous" to American foreign policy. Already the hardening of tariff sentiment in Congress since the last election, together with such Administration actions as the rejection of a British manufacturer's low bid for the supply of electrical machinery at Chief Joseph Dam, has aroused the indignation of our allies.

Talk of retaliation is growing. The Canadian Parliament on April 28 loudly applauded a member who proposed that, if the United States raised lead and zinc duties excessively, Canada should impose export taxes on nickel and asbestos—two strategic materials for which this country is absolutely dependent on Canada. Venezuela, which buys half a billion dollars' worth of goods




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here each year, also threatens to hit back if its shipments of oil are restricted.

Again, we should remember that we have recently put pressure on our allies to reduce their sales to the Eastern bloc to a minimum. What response do we deserve if we place new obstacles in the way of their goods? Can we say to Britain: We won't buy your generators because they are too competitively priced, but don't you dare try to sell them to Russia or China? It is not surprising that Western European countries are actively seeking trade outlets behind the Iron Curtain, or that, as Michael Hoffman reports in the New York *Times*, "the Russians and their allies are playing a shrewd game designed to capitalize on the growing frustration . . . over United States trade policy."

## Knowledge for What?

In his recent address to the Association of National Advertisers meeting at Hot Springs, Virginia, Dr. Ernest Dichter, president of the Institute for Research in Mass Motivations, failed to clarify the issues raised in Ralph Goodman's provocative and widely read piece Freud and the Hucksters (*The Nation*, February 14). Social scientists, he said, should stop "sneering" at the hucksters —Mr. Goodman implied that they were flirting, not sneering—and the hucksters should cease regarding social scientists as "long-haired idealists" with no real understanding of human nature. In short, Dr. Dichter, one of the social scientists mentioned in Mr. Goodman's article, feels that the growing collaboration between social scientists and hucksters should be encouraged.

It is doubtless true, as he suggests, that social scientists should show more interest in soap operas, comic strips, and popular magazines. Nor will it be denied that the hucksters' technique can be used to "sell" better race relations and induce a higher percentage of voters to turn out at the polls. What disturbs us about this budding collaboration between the heirs of Veblen and the heirs of Barnum is the assumption that the goals toward which their efforts point are always worthy and desirable. Who determines what is to be sold? Is the product to be Eisenhower or Stevenson? inflation or deflation? war or peace? the United Nations or a star-spangled American empire?

We are immediately suspicious and not a little irate when we are told that the social scientist should concentrate on understanding "the forms of resistance . . . which interfere with the smooth and intelligent functioning of human behavior." Do we need smoother functioning automatons or more citizens who do their own thinking? Why should social scientists concentrate on drilling the masses so that they will march smoothly and efficiently toward goals about which they have not been consulted? Everyone will agree with Dr. Dichter that the study of motivations is important; but Robert S. Lynd's haunting query—knowledge for what?—deserves an answer from the hucksters and the growing number of social scientists who are collaborating with them.

## Now The Students

Until recently college students felt only at second-hand the effect of the witch hunts on the campus. But on April 8 the readers of *Spectator*, the Columbia undergraduate daily, learned that Dean Nicholas D. McKnight's office not only furnished prospective employers with a student's grades but with a "loyalty report" as well. Just a week before that the Senate Internal Security subcommittee had subpoenaed its first two student witnesses, Jonathan W. and David L. Lubell, both enrolled at the Harvard Law School. When the brothers refused to testify on the ground that they might incriminate themselves, Samuel P. Stears, president of the Massachusetts Bar Association, branded them "unfit for admission to the bar in any of our states" and demanded their expulsion. Although Dean Erwin N. Griswold announced that no disciplinary action would be taken against the Lubells, they were dropped from the editorial board of the Harvard *Record* after the Alumni Association of the Law School threatened to withdraw its financial aid from the weekly.

The Lubell brothers are not the only students who will find it hard to get a job when they graduate. At a recent meeting of the New York Board of Higher Education four students who had protested against the dismissal of six municipal-college teachers for refusing to testify before the Senate subcommittee were warned by a member of the board, Gustave G. Rosenberg: "Your names are being taken down. Some day you may want to apply for admission to the bar or to some other place. . . . Why don't you watch what you say?"

# Tidelands Oil and the Political Tides

THE valiant fight in the United States Senate against the offshore oil grab went down to defeat, as everybody knew it would. The vote was 56 to 35. As sad as the result was the manner in which it was achieved. Nearly half the Democrats—all but two of them Dixiecrats—voted for the grab. Not unexpectedly, the gentlemen who were bribed not to walk out of the Democratic Party in Chicago have made good on their first opportunity—since Eisenhower became President—to walk into the Republican fold in Washington.

Yet on the basic issues involved it was a battle that was lost, and not the war. The victory forced through by the forces of privilege and states' rights may yet turn out to be one of the most expensive in many years.



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The fight was an eye-opener—for members of the Senate, and for the public at large. It compelled the Eisenhower Administration to show its hand. Here was the first consequential piece of legislation put through by a new Administration which has been extraordinarily dilatory about setting the legislative machinery to work. The fight showed this legislation up for what it really was—a naked give-away to the oil barons, the all-important first step in an unadorned program to plunder the people of their infinitely valuable basic resources (see the article by Michael Straus on page 416).

More important, the fight broke the newspaper blockade and let in a bit of light on the program itself and on the forces and the motives that lie behind it. From the beginning, the insuperable problem facing the opponents of this unblushing give-away was the simple fact that it was all but impossible to get anybody very excited about it. The very name adopted by proponents of the give-away—"tidelands oil"—worked in their favor. No citizen of New England, the Middle West, the Far West or anywhere else was due to take very much interest in what might happen to the tidelands of Louisiana, Florida, Texas, or California. A publisher whose paper follows the line that this noble Administration is simply trying to "clean up the mess in Washington"—and what publisher's paper doesn't?—had the best of excuses for failing to enlighten his readers about the oil steal. They just did not care about it.

As a result the overwhelming majority of newspaper readers had no reason to suppose that this immense swindle was anything more than what its proponents called it—a simple business of returning to the states certain properties which a wrong-headed federal government had unjustly taken away from them.

THIS MEANT that the Senate opponents of the steal were all but helpless. All the pressure came from the oil interests. A Senator could make important enemies by opposing the grab, but as far as anyone could tell he could make no enemies of any consequence by going along with it. So the skids were greased and the give-away was foreordained.

But the fight broke the blockade: that is, it compelled the newspapers to present the people's side of the case. It did that simply by its intensity and its semi-filibuster qualities. Senator Morse's twenty-two-hour speech, for instance, was news. Something had to be printed about it. No matter how stout an effort might be made to portray Morse, and the other Senators who were opposing the grab, as a publicity-mad species of flagpole sitter, in the end something of what the Senators were actually saying had to be printed.

It took a long-drawn-out fight to accomplish this. A debate of three or four days would never have done it. A debate that ran through a month did it by sheer weight. The opponents of the oil grab said quite correctly that they were not conducting a filibuster. They were trying to educate the public: which is to say, they were trying to break through the barrier erected by a one-party press and give the public the facts about a matter of vital public concern. In that effort they succeeded. For the one time since the Eisenhower Administration took office, the daily press found itself obliged to give a certain amount of space to arguments in opposition to something which the Eisenhower Administration was trying to do. That was a tremendous achievement.

NOR WAS it an achievement that simply hangs in a vacuum, as something to be admired in the abstract. People have been alerted, and succeeding give-aways will come much harder than this one. Senator Morse, for instance, received some 2,500 letters shortly after he made his long speech—letters, be it remarked, that did not come from Oregon, but were written by people living all across the country. Not more than a dozen of these letters took him to task for his speech. All the rest praised the speech and its objective.

For another illustration, consider the case of a certain Eastern Senator who was opposed to the oil grab but who had not planned to speak on it at all, figuring that nobody in his state cared about it. He found himself on the floor, one afternoon, with the speaking program coming to a sudden pause, so that more or less against his will he got on his feet and spoke against the give-away. To his utter amazement his office was flooded during the following week with letters from back home—letters indorsing his stand and urging him to keep up the good fight. "My God!" he said. "I've struck a political bonanza!"

A number of the Senators who voted for the give-away are beginning to be tormented by doubts. The business does not look quite as innocent now as it looked a month ago. The simple fact is that the people of the United States are quite as firmly attached to their national property as they ever were. All they need is to be told when someone is trying to lay hands on it. In this instance they were at last told something of the truth about what is going on in Washington.

The next fight will be a little different. There will be a "next fight," of course, and several more after that: the success of the oil grab has only whetted the big interests' appetite. But it won't be quite so easy from here on in. There does exist in the Senate a solid core of men who will stand up and battle about things like this. They have learned how to compel the newspapers to present both sides of the story. They have shown that when that happens the people react vigorously. It may not be going too far to say that in its victory on the offshore oil case, the Eisenhower Administration took the first long step toward its ultimate downfall.



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J. Alvarez del Vayo

# The French Workers Wake Up

*Paris*

AFTER many months of calm an epidemic of strikes has broken out. The most talked-about has been the strike in the Renault plants, where the workers, traditionally militant, have always been a cause of concern to the Ministry of the Interior. But the special importance of this walk-out is that it followed close upon other like demonstrations in certain public services of the Paris area and that it is evidently not to be the last. Only a few days ago, on the eve of the great May 1 celebration, a strike of the French Line's ships' officers prevented the sailing of all the line's ships. Twenty-four hours later the majority of bank employees, including some 60 to 80 per cent of the organized workers in the biggest banks, walked out during the morning hours, simply as a warning. Similar partial strikes, limited to a few hours each, have been called on several of the railroad lines, while various industrial concerns and business offices report a growing "strike atmosphere."

All this is a clear indication that the workers of France are becoming restive and angry. There has not been any substantial increase in wages since 1951; in the meantime prices have been going up. If it were not for the "family compensations"—state subsidies for each child—the workers would be actually hungry. But even with the allowances nobody knows how the majority of Frenchmen manage to survive. Almost every earned franc must go for food. To buy a shirt or a pair of shoes is a serious matter.

The workers are angry, but of course few tourists, and even fewer correspondents, have occasion to talk to them. The strikes we are witnessing are not only an answer to the hardships of today but an anticipation of the great economic crisis now in the making, which the workers correctly feel will hit them hardest. Yet it would narrow the problem unduly to relate it exclusively to economics. At the bottom there is a political element—the bitterness of the workingman who sees reaction everywhere again in control, who watches the war in Indo-China move from disaster to disaster, who regards with dread the prospect of a new German army.

SINCE THIS awakening has both a political and an economic character, its significance should not be minimized. It has created a climate favorable to unity of action on the left—at present the main objective of Communist strategy. We are still very far from a return to the People's Front. The wounds inflicted during the long Communist-Socialist feud will be slower to heal than the Communists imagine. The Communists offered the Socialists a deal whereby in the run-off either party would withdraw its own candidate in favor of the other, depending on which had the best chance to win. The offer was rejected. The Socialists said that the tone of the proposal "confirmed that for you [the Communists] to promote the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is still more important than to secure genuine unity of action." (None the less, in a number of instances Communists did combine at local level with the Socialists to put a Socialist in office.) A Socialist leader to whom I talked said, "What can one expect? Personally, I am inclined to examine their proposals, but most of my comrades do not wish to be embraced today and then called 'traitors,' 'Social Fascists,' or 'Social Democrats' in a contemptuous way the very moment our party fails to identify itself 100 per cent with each Communist initiative. They must change a good deal before we can march together again." But he admitted that if the situation continues to deteriorate, the demand by the Socialist workers for unity of action "might become almost irresistible."

If inter-party cooperation is still impossible, in the unions the tendency is developing more rapidly. In many factories unity of action among Communist, Socialist, and Catholic workers is already a fact. The Communists are persistently trying to bring about a degree of collaboration among the leaders of the three great organizations—the C. G. T., predominantly Communist; the Force Ouvrière, non-Communist, headed by Léon Jouhaux; and the C. F. T. C., the Christian workers' federation. Several actions in the Renault factories were jointly fought, with responsible elements of both the C. G. T. and the C. F. T. C. displaying impressive unanimity. But high-level agreement is not yet in view.

REAL UNITY of action will require more elasticity on the part of the Communists. Gradually the most "sectarian" leaders have been put on the shelf: some have been sent to East Germany or shifted to subaltern positions where they cannot endanger the policy of rapprochement. The Communists hope to break the isolation in which they have existed since their departure from the government by devoting their main effort to political work rather than to immediate goals. They want to regain their wartime credit as defenders of the true interests of France. I have heard them, these days, praise not only a man of the moderate and consistent insight of Pierre Mendès-France but Edouard Daladier, whom they attacked bitterly when he reappeared in the Assembly after the war. Daladier is now against German rearmament and the Indo-China war, and that is enough to rehabilitate him!

It would be silly, however, to devote too much irony to these changes of front. Behind all the party maneuvers is something much more important—the reappearance of the workers in the political arena. This could have a profound effect on future political developments in Europe. We are only at the beginning of a new trend, and I shall be much surprised if the time-tested tactics of stressing the danger of a Russian invasion, in which fewer Frenchmen believe with each day that passes, will succeed in sending the workers back to sleep again.



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# INDO-CHINA

## Black-Market War . . . *by Claude Bourdet*

*Paris*

IN *THE NATION* of April 25 Helen Mears called the war in Indo-China "a mess." For France and Indo-China it is worse than a mess. "Cancer" or "ulcer" is the word used by writers of all shades of opinion in the French press. Not only has the war cost France more than twice the total amount of American aid for all purposes, civilian and military—as the President of the French Republic stressed in a famous speech last year—but the loss of life has been appalling. It is generally admitted that at least as many officers as are graduated yearly from Saint-Cyr, the French West Point, have been killed or disabled every year. If France cannot produce an army worth speaking about in Europe, it is because of the war in Indo-China.

The moral effect is even worse. The difference between the official and the actual value of the Indo-Chinese currency—until a few days ago the piastre was equal officially to seventeen francs but brought only nine on the free market—has given rise to financial speculation on a huge scale by both commercial firms and political parties, taking advantage of their official connections. Last year the director of the powerful bank of Indo-China, M. Laurent, told me a few months before he died that black-market deals in the piastre certainly amounted to more than ten billion francs a year. The whole of French political life is infected. Last week M. Jean-Jacques Servan Schreiber, a French journalist who achieved some notoriety in America when he broke with *Le Monde* because he considered it not sufficiently pro-American but has recently returned to that paper, wrote an article which caused a sensation in Paris. On the basis of the report of the parliamentary committee which has just come back from Indo-China, he said that the truth about the Indo-Chinese war was worse than anybody suspected, that the main reason why it continued was that it brought such huge profits to powerful interests. He even hinted that certain groups have assiduously sabotaged, year after year, all attempts at a peaceful settlement. M. Servan Schreiber's evidence doubtless helped influence the government to put through a long over-due downward revision of the piastre from seventeen francs to ten.

It should be emphasized that after Ho Chi-minh had been recognized by France as head of the Vietnam Republic in 1946, he made a real effort to reach an understanding with France. He sat down with the French at a round-table conference in Fontainebleau, but the negotiations were wrecked by the French High Commissioner in Indo-China, Admiral d'Argenlieu, who, in the absence of Ho Chi-minh, tried to organize Vietnam in three separate states. Later the French gave up this idea and put Bao Dai back as emperor.

PEACE might still have been preserved if in November, 1946, after a dispute between French and Vietnamese customs officials in Haiphong over one of the numerous financial questions left unsolved at Fontainebleau, the French army and navy had not opened fire on the town of Haiphong, killing, according to the admiral commanding the fleet, 6,000 Vietnamese civilians—men, women, and children. These facts were not disclosed to the French people till years afterward, when Professor Paul Mus, then head of the French Colonial School and later professor at Yale, and Philippe Devillers published exhaustive surveys of the Indo-Chinese situation. Neither of these men have the faintest leaning toward communism.

The Haiphong incident was very meagerly reported, but when a month later a Vietnam attack in Hanoi killed forty Frenchmen, the Paris press ran huge headlines on the scandalous and unprovoked "aggression." And the war began. Even then Ho Chi-minh tried for an agreement, appealing to the French Socialist Minister of Colonial Affairs for a truce and a treaty and being told that there could be "no talks with the aggressors."

In 1947 he made a second appeal. The government's answer, transmitted by Professor Mus, was utterly unrealistic in the light of subsequent events. It asked for the disarmament and concentration of Vietnamese troops, which were yet unbeaten, and for the delivery to the French authorities of all non-Vietnamese in the republican army—a condition whose only precedent in recent history is found in Hitler's demands on the Vichy government. Ho Chi-minh replied, says Professor Mus, that he had accepted the principle of the French Union (a less liberal equivalent of the British Commonwealth) and that "he understood there was no room in the French Union for cowards, and he would be a coward if he accepted the French terms."

The war went on. But it turned into something very different from what the military optimists in Paris and Indo-China foresaw in 1946. The republican army—generally known in France and Western countries as the Vietminh army, Vietminh being one of the former names of Ho Chi-minh's National Front—developed into a powerful and extremely mobile instrument, well trained, well disciplined, well equipped. Its arms are either obtained by lend-lease or purchase from the U. S. S. R., Communist China, and the People's Republics or are bought from Western armament firms in one of the neutral markets of the Far East. M. Laurent, whom I mentioned above, told me he believed Ho Chi-minh's government was able to buy most of its war material with the funds brought in by its very efficient taxation system; taxes are paid promptly even by French firms, which

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fear bombs or other reprisals if they are not "nice" about it. Incidentally, the huge sale of piastres against dollars by Ho Chi-minh in Hongkong and elsewhere explains the two currency rates.

Against the Vietminh army the French have used every possible weapon, every possible species of mercenary or voluntary soldier except French recruits, which the government could not possibly send to Indo-China, the war being so unpopular in France. But although these troops—French volunteers in quest of adventure, German Nazis making a new start, African mercenaries, and a growing number of Vietnamese soldiers possibly attracted by high pay and other advantages—fight well, and although the continuous flow of American material gives the French army ever-increasing power of destruction, the situation is developing every year and every month to the advantage of Ho Chi-minh.

Now the Vietminh army has come down from the north and invaded the Indo-Chinese state of Laos with the help of native partisans. The extreme complexity of the political situation is indicated by the fact that the Laotian allies of Ho Chi-minh are commanded by the brother of the king's Prime Minister.

THE EVIDENCE shows that the military successes of the Vietminh would be impossible if it were not supported by the major part of the population. Since 1947 this truth has been slowly dawning on the reactionary minds of French colonialists. When the ex-emperor Bao Dai was called back by the French and made the head of an "independent" Vietnam state, the French granted him, at least theoretically, a larger degree of independence than Ho Chi-minh had asked for in vain in 1946. But they granted it grudgingly, and the Vietnamese and other Indo-Chinese always had the impression that the French tried to take back with one hand what they gave with the other and, moreover, that what they did give was due to Ho Chi-minh's military successes. Many French journalists have been asked in Vietnam, "If you really managed to beat Ho Chi-minh, wouldn't you immediately try to set up the old colonial system again?" This feeling is not of course very helpful to the moral consolidation of the Bao Dai regime. Moreover, Bao Dai's ministers are generally considered corrupt and inefficient, while there is nearly universal respect for the ability and moral integrity of the men around Ho Chi-minh, whether Communist or non-Communist.

Bao Dai's failure, however, may have other causes than the small-mindedness of French colonialists and the lack of decent leaders in his camp. Vietnam is largely an agricultural country and most of the people behind Bao Dai are those who own big (100 acres) or medium-sized (10 acres) farms; in the north these men own 40 per cent, in the center 25 per cent, and in the south 80 per cent of the land. This means that there is a huge proportion of almost landless families; 98 per cent of the landowners in the north, 99 per cent in the center, and 72 per cent in the south own on the average but one acre. As in China, the strength of the Ho Chi-minh regime derives from its lowering of rents, distribution of large estates, and protection of the small peasant.

If it is asked why the Bao Dai regime does not follow the same policy, the answer is, of course, that never in modern or ancient history has a landed aristocracy or bourgeoisie voluntarily sacrificed its wealth for some higher purpose. If we are going to wait for this miracle, the war may well go on forever—or until France is totally exhausted or has suffered a major defeat.

Is there, then, some other solution? Many people even in the French business world have begun to realize that the Asian Communists seem to be, at least in China and Indo-China, the only political group able to solve the crucial agrarian problem, which is the source of the tragic poverty of these lands. They feel that it would be better to find some basis of agreement with these regimes than to bind them together by trying forcibly to eradicate them, thus pushing China into Russia's arms and the Vietnam Republic into China's. The Vietnam Republic, or Vietminh, is not as yet a one-party state, like Mao's China, but contains a large proportion of democratic nationalists, and even the Communists are afraid of too much Chinese influence. It may be assumed, therefore, that if a truce could be negotiated, if peace could be secured, some sort of understanding could be reached between the West and Indo-China. It might even be that under Communist or semi-Communist leadership Indo-China would be far more amenable to cooperation with the West than is China or Russia, even the new post-Stalin Russia.

These views have representatives, open or secret, on the most anti-Communist benches in the French Parliament. But every French government has come to think of the Indo-China war as the major source of American dollars and good-will. No government yet has had the courage to tell America that this war is a liability for the whole

*Ho Chi-minh*

Western world. Moreover, the "Indo-China lobby" in Paris is at least as powerful as the China lobby in Washington. Its present aim is to internationalize the war while keeping the "piastres" profits for itself. Its latest trick is to try to coax the French government into asking the U. N. to intervene because of the Vietminh invasion of Laos. But some French Ministers have pointed out that this might be exceedingly risky. The Vietnam Republic is at war with France; the Laotian authorities have little real existence and anyhow no power to maintain their independence; the French army has the free use of the Laotian territory, and it would be very difficult to explain in the U. N. that the Vietminh was committing "aggression" when pursuing French troops through Laos. Moreover, the position of the Laotian "king" and government is not at all clear, and in any case it is pretty certain that the whole of the Arab-Asian bloc would denounce French colonial policies in Asia and elsewhere.



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# TEACHER AS REBEL

## His War for Freedom . . *by Howard K. Beale*

"FREEDOM" in our schools and universities is often attacked, frequently defended, rarely defined. Many who have insisted upon it for themselves have not believed in it for persons in other fields. There has always been a struggle between those who sought security for their possessions and beliefs and those who wanted the progress and growth that come through the activity of the free and inquiring mind.

Educational freedom today means (1) that no religious, political, social, racial, or other non-educational factor shall influence the appointment of teachers; (2) that teachers shall be protected against dismissal for religious, political, racial, or social views or for membership in any religious, political, racial or national-origin group, while remaining liable to dismissal for incompetence, neglect of duty, moral turpitude, violation of the freedom of others, or conviction of crime under the laws of the land; (3) that teachers have the right to a fair hearing when accused; (4) that their freedom of conduct, both public and private, shall be no more restricted than that of other citizens; (5) that students shall be allowed to hear all points of view on controversial subjects fairly presented, and to formulate their own opinions. Those who have fought for this concept of freedom have believed that the best, indeed the only sure, way to inculcate and support sound views is by persuasion and discussion. They have been convinced that in a free forum the truth will prevail.

The case for freedom was perhaps never better stated than when Charles Evans Hughes, Chief Justice of the United States, condemned loyalty tests in New York schools at another time of public alarm in these words:

> Freedom of learning is the vital breath of democracy and progress. I trust that . . . our public schools—for the mass of our young people can know no other— . . . may enjoy the priceless advantages of courses . . . designed to promote the acquisition of all knowledge and may not be placed under restrictions to prevent it, and that our teachers and professors may be encouraged, not to regard themselves as the pliant tools of power, but to dedicate their lives to the highest of all purposes, to know and to teach the truth, the whole truth. . . . This is the path of salvation of men and democracy.

CURRENT ATTACKS upon the freedom of American schools and universities can best be understood against the background of earlier struggles. In colonial days we had neither religious nor academic freedom. Schools were originally set up to promote the religious views of the dominant element in the community. Religious soundness was the chief criterion of fitness to teach. The first president of Harvard College, for instance, was driven from his post and from the colony when he accepted the Baptist view of infant baptism. As late as the end of the colonial period President Clapp of Yale made the interesting ruling: "Though every man has a right to examine and judge for himself according to truth; yet no man has a right to judge wrong." Teachers, however, were scarce; suppression of heresy proved difficult. In communities that needed more people economic prosperity was promoted by tolerating men of unorthodox, even dangerous views.

The men who founded our nation included freedom of religion among the fundamental freedoms. An established church was abandoned. Gradually, the idea of separation of church and state was accepted. In our early national period advocates of freedom won removal of legal penalties for wrong views and practices even in the field where error was considered most dangerous, provided always that the offender was a Trinitarian Protestant Christian. Legal discrimination against Jews, Catholics, Unitarians, and atheists was also finally abolished. Public schools were protected against control by religious pressure groups.

For a time during the Revolution political as well as religious conformity was required of teachers. All states established test oaths for civil officials; New Jersey had one that applied specifically to teachers. Since a large proportion of the educated people were loyal to England, a good many teachers were affected. President Cooper of King's College, now Columbia University, not only lost his job but fled half-clad over a fence to a British sloop to escape indignant "patriots."

Then came the French Revolution and the struggle in this country between the Hamiltonian men of property and the Jeffersonians who acclaimed the "French" ideas of liberty and equality. A sedition act passed by the Hamiltonians imposed severe restrictions upon criticism of the government. While the fear of dangerous French ideas was at its height, Harvard dropped its courses in the French language and literature. But in the end those who sought to restrict free speech were overwhelmingly repudiated by the voters. The Jeffersonians repealed the sedition act and reestablished our freedoms. Harvard, after eight years, restored French to the curriculum.

IN THE mid-nineteenth century slavery became the most bitterly contested issue before the American people. Southern slaveholders were the greatest propertied interest in the country. Northern manufacturers and other men of wealth sympathized with the slaveholders' desire to protect their property. The anti-slavery agitation threatened not only the property and labor system, but the very social stability of the South. Abolition

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was as frightening to Southern whites as communism is today to Americans in all parts of the country. Southern states made it a crime to teach Negroes. Throughout the South teachers were dismissed and often driven from the community for asserting that to hold men in bondage was wrong. Among them were President Partridge of Mississippi College, Professor Birney of Centre College, and the whole faculty of Berea. At the University of North Carolina Professor Hedrick was dismissed for supporting a subversive organization—the Republican Party.

Since Abolitionists were Northerners, the principle of guilt by association made all Northern teachers and books suspect in Southern schools. At one time even Northern schools and colleges suppressed criticism of slavery. Connecticut and New Hampshire mobs attacked schools that accepted Negroes. Miami University, Kenyon College, and Lane Theological Seminary banned student anti-slavery societies as subversive. Anti-slavery professors were dismissed at Lane and Harvard, and Harvard students threw rotten eggs at the college's distinguished alumnus, Ralph Waldo Emerson, when he gave an anti-slavery lecture. On the other hand, the President of Franklin College was forced out because of his pro-slavery views. Harvard dismissed Judge Loring from a law lectureship because he had enforced the law and returned a fugitive Negro to the South.

After war broke out, the presidents of Bowdoin and Dartmouth and teachers in many places were dismissed for defending slavery and secession. Then, for fifty years after the war ended, its issues were refought. The United Daughters of the Confederacy in the South, the Grand Army of the Republic in the North attacked teachers and textbooks and tried to replace sound history with the version they preferred. Publishing houses and textbook writers had to put out one kind of history for the South and another for the North.

MEANWHILE SCIENTISTS were making new discoveries and presenting the hypothesis of evolution to the world. In many places teachers who introduced the new knowledge in their classrooms and professors of theology who applied it to their religious teaching were fired: for example, at the Baptist Seminary in Louisville, the Presbyterian Seminary in South Carolina, and at Vanderbilt in Tennessee. The appointment of Harvard's great president, Eliot, was opposed on the ground that a scientist could not maintain sound education; powerful members of the Board of Overseers tried unsuccessfully to prevent Eliot's having John Fiske lecture at Harvard on evolution. At Yale, President Porter conducted a course discrediting Herbert Spencer's evolutionary teachings.

Andrew White, president of Cornell, on the other hand, defended the right of scientists to teach the truth as they saw it. Efforts of religious pressure groups to suppress academic freedom, he warned, did far more harm to religion than to science, "for thereby suspicions are widely spread, especially among open-minded young men, that the accepted Christian system demands a concealment of truth, with the persecution of honest investigators, and must therefore be false." The Women's Christian Temperance Union was powerful enough, however, to force schools all over the country to adopt physiology textbooks containing "scientific" information that medical men denounced as untrue but that these devoted and determined ladies wished inculcated.

IN THE NINETIES, with the growth of industrialization, social and economic questions began to cause the most trouble. President Harper at the new University of Chicago stood ready to defend freedom of science and religious teaching but was caught off guard by the demand that he dismiss an economist for criticizing the practices of the Pullman Company, whose founder was one of Chicago's leading citizens. From then until our own day schools and colleges have been under attack for their teachings on race relations, slum clearance, labor problems, security legislation, public ownership or even control of utilities, regulation of industry, and any other social or economic question the community feels strongly about.

In the 1920's religious groups again attacked the teaching of evolution, this time in the lower schools too. Books were banned, or mutilated by having the pages on evolution cut out. Teachers were cowed into avoiding any mention of the doctrine. State laws in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee forbade its discussion.

An extreme brand of patriotism also took possession of us in those years. The schools were attacked by the American Legion and the D. A. R. Teachers were dismissed for not distorting history "patriotically" to show that Britain had been solely to blame for the American Revolution and our other disagreements with it. Eminent historians, faced with the blacklisting of their books, changed them to please the politicians. In the thirties books were condemned because Catholics or Jews did not like their contents, and the excellent history of an eminent Catholic historian was barred

from the New York schools by a Presbyterian superintendent on complaint of an obscure Episcopal clergyman until the author changed certain statements about the Reformation that non-Episcopal Protestant historians regarded as entirely sound.

AFTER WORLD WAR I a "red scare" developed. Loyalty tests were imposed. Powerful forces sought to brand as "radical" and hence as "disloyal" all unorthodox opinions. In New York, Governor Alfred E. Smith protested that the Lusk laws permitted "one man to place upon any teacher the stigma of disloyalty." "No man," he said, "is so omniscient or wise as to have intrusted to him power not only to condemn any individual teacher but to decree what belief or opinion is opposed to the institutions of the country. . . . Within the limits of the penal law every citizen may speak and teach what he believes." Three years later, when the hysteria had died out, the people of New York repealed the laws setting up the loyalty tests. Sheets like the Hearst papers and the Chicago *Tribune* continued to attack democratic freedoms in the schools and colleges, but as the twenties passed into the thir-



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ties fewer and fewer people supported their campaign.

Though the desire of politicians for votes and of newspapers for subscribers has sometimes motivated attacks upon the schools, more often the attackers, like the opponents of abolition and evolution, have sincerely believed they were combating a dangerous development. Their sincerity, however, has not made their threat to freedom any less menacing.

IN MANY RESPECTS the present attacks are the same old story set in another period of tension. But this time the danger is greater, for several reasons:

1. The panic is more acute than usual; one is reminded of the hysteria in Salem in the 1690's.

2. The problem of political dissent at home has got mixed up with the threat to powerful churches abroad and to the spiritual values of religious people generally.

3. One group of the politically unorthodox is closely allied to a hostile foreign nation; in consequence we confuse military danger from without with the small group at home who, in so far as they are foreign agents, can be handled under existing laws and, in so far as they are propagandists, are failing miserably.

4. Loyalty checks, purges, and accusations by the national government are something new to the American way; government attacks on free education are more dangerous to our freedom than the attacks of local and unofficial pressure groups in other crises have ever been.

5. The abandonment of traditional Anglo-American and democratic safeguards of freedom makes its defense more difficult than ever before. Judicial proceedings—the right to a fair hearing, to defense counsel, to confront accusers, to cross-examine witnesses—are too often denied teachers. Men forget the definition of treason placed in the Constitution to protect our freedom: in place of overt acts with two witnesses, ideas now constitute treason. The "clear and present danger" test of thirty years ago has been reworded as a "clear and imminent" danger. The age-old doctrine that a man is innocent until proved guilty seems no longer to hold.

6. The effect of attacks and penalties has been to cow teachers and students alike until they are afraid to express opinions, to teach the truth, or to join organizations of their choosing, even soundly democratic ones. One is reminded frighteningly of German schools under Hitler or of the once free and great University of Prague under Communist rule.

7. Liberalism, to which democracy and freedom of the mind have been tied, has become negative; it has lost the drive and force that led to progress in the nineteenth century.

8. Many Americans have lost their faith in democracy and in the power of truth to overcome error. Without faith in democracy, they turn easily to the suppressions used by totalitarianism. We need leaders who can defend freedom and win others to defend it—men like Roger Williams, William Penn, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Louis Brandeis.

Because teachers are afraid to explore new ideas and to teach students the unrestricted truth, the schools are losing their capacity to turn out citizens capable of considering all ideas and sifting the false from the true. When students meet communism and other dangerous ideas later in life, they will not have been fitted, as only free universities could fit them, to detect and combat false ideas. They need to hear communism debated and learn its fallacies. The effort to control thought is making students indifferent, fearful, cynical. At home and abroad there is a growing suspicion that democratic principles cannot be sound or they would not have to be imposed on youth by force in the land where democracy has flourished most gloriously.

The whole world is watching America to see how democracy works. Millions of people will choose between democracy and communism not only as our foreign policy affects them favorably or unfavorably but also as democratic freedom in America seems to them genuine or phony. Students in India, where the fate of the world's freedom may be decided, are watching the struggle to keep our universities free. Monsignor O'Grady said recently that maintaining the McCarran restrictions is the surest way to turn Italy Communist in the next election.

We need, then, to nourish our freedom at its roots. We need to recall the dictum of Justice Holmes uttered in an earlier period of hysteria: "We should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death unless they so imminently threaten immediate interference with the lawful and pressing purposes of the law that immediate check is required to save the country." We need to remember that this freedom of teacher and student from fear or compulsion is particularly important to our society in time of crisis if wise policies are to be formulated. We need above all to realize that schools and universities whose teachers are still free are superbly meeting the challenge of communism in the only way it can be effectively met—through free discussion.

## THE TEACHER

*Teacher, Teacher, burning bright,*
*Lighting up the dismal night,*
*What immortal hand and eye*
*Depict thy fearful fate—or try?*

What wide halls, what campus skies
Framed stark terror in thine eyes?
Came you here by whose desire?
Whose hands dared to light this fire?

What investigator's art
Rent the sinews of thy heart?
When fierce flames about you beat,
Fell thy hands at whose dread feet?

What the bludgeon? What the chain?
Forged to shackle fast thy brain?
What the questions? What dread grasp
Inquisition's terrors clasp?

When they threw their Red charge spears,
And made you water earth with tears,
Did they smile their work to see?
Did they who make the laws make thee?

*Teacher, Teacher, burning bright,*
*You are wrong, if wrong or right;*
*What immortal pen and eye*
*Depict thine end—or even try?*

MARCUS B. CHRISTIAN



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# JOURNEY TO INDIA

## Revitalizing the Land . . . *by Aneurin Bevan*

*London*

I WAS walking in the early dawn in the garden of my hostess, the Indian Minister of Health, when another Minister with whom I had been anxious to have a long talk joined me. I had met him a few nights earlier at the Prime Minister's home, and even before I knew what his work was, the vigor and eagerness of his personality had made a marked impression. He was the Minister *in charge of Community Projects; that* is, it was his job to ignite, direct, and assist the village communities in the work of building New India.

These community projects are the most exciting feature of the New India. The democratic stability and future progress of the country will depend on the measure of success they achieve. They start with a recognition of two facts that are central in Indian life. The first is the supreme importance of the Indian village community. The second is that a considerable time must elapse before the programs undertaken by the central government can make much impact on the life of the rural worker.

The theory is the reverse of the centralism which has distinguished the Soviet approach to rural life. It is an attempt to make democracy work where it can be expected to be most vigorous and self-reliant, at the bottom of the social scale. It sets out four guiding principles: first, self-help and mutual service; second, mobilization and development of local community resources; third, organized and cooperative action; and, fourth, minimum state assistance.

A project area comprises roughly about 300 villages with a total area of about 130,000 acres and a population of 200,000. Technical advisers and a certain amount of equipment are provided by the state and central governments, and pilot schemes of sanitation and simple health practices are initiated to show the villagers what can be done at once to improve their condition. Seed selection, better methods of cultivation, communal development, and utilization of local water supplies are especially emphasized, as is also the making of roads by voluntary labor.

It is not my intention to exaggerate what is being done or to underestimate the almost heart-breaking distance that has yet to be covered before the verdict "success" can be written for these community projects. During my stay it was made clear to me that the Indian government has been too timorous in dealing with the absentee landlord and the problem of agricultural credits; it has failed to rid rural India of the age-old curse of the money-lender. That Nehru is conscious of this there can be no doubt. If the spirit of practical service and self-help that is typified by the community projects is carried through the whole Administration, the time may come when the Taj Mahal and the mud huts of those who built it will not continue to gaze at each other in mutual reproach.

I HAD SET my heart on seeing the Himalayas. It is a natural desire in a Welshman, brought up in the mountains, and conscious of an irresistible longing to return if he is away from them too long. But I could not satisfy my wish unless something more immediately useful than sightseeing could be included. Fortunately my hosts wished me to see a state farm won from the jungle, and as this lay to the north of New Delhi, within distant sight of the Himalayas on a clear day, our mutual wishes could be gratified.

It must be understood that the state farm is not an example of how the Indian government envisages the future of Indian agriculture. It is an illustration of what can be done, intended mainly to show farmers the results of applying modern agricultural techniques to Indian conditions. It is not a collective in the Soviet sense, nor is it a cooperative. The workers are employees working for the state, although under more favorable conditions than generally prevail.

Terai in the United Provinces was selected deliberately for the site on account of its ill-favored character. The area was malarial swamp, infested by leopards and tigers, foraged by herds of wild elephants, and notorious for the high incidence of deaths from malaria. Those who survived the disease suffered from the low production and physical lethargy which are the secondary consequences of malaria.

The area included comes to approximately 16,500 acres. The decision was taken in 1949. To date 14,500 acres have been brought under cultivation, and an additional 500 will be taken up this year. The remaining 1,500 acres are not suitable for cultivation. The farm will provide pedigree buffaloes and cows, pedigree seeds, and pedigree poultry for sale to farmers in the state in order to raise progressively the standard of farm stock and increase the quality and yield of crops.

An interesting feature of the scheme is the conversion of low-lying land into fish ponds for commercial fishing. These ponds are also used by the buffaloes to wallow in. This, I learned, is essential for their good health. A vast variety of fruit trees have been planted, and 500 bee hives will be kept for pollination.

Sixty-nine villages, housing 2,613 families, have already been established. We were shown over the modern hospital and a well-planned primary school. The assignment of the villages to different categories of people throws a revealing light on contemporary Indian conditions: political sufferers, that is, refugees, 16 villages; ex-servicemen, 5 villages; settlers, 16 villages; landless laborers, 3 villages; displaced persons, 29 villages.

Production from the Terai state farm

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*ANEURIN BEVAN, leader of the left wing of the British Labor Party, has just returned from an extended trip to India and adjoining countries.*



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has already begun to repay the original capital expenditure, quite apart from the indirect benefit to the farming population, which has already caught the contagion and is increasing its own yield from the soil and from the animal stock to an extent undreamed of in the past. It was impossible to travel the miles of new roads through this freshly created farm without feeling a certain exaltation of the spirit. The age-long tyranny of the jungle is being beaten. As against what needs to be done accomplishment is pitifully small. But I saw it as an example of the unconquerable spirit of man in his struggle against recalcitrant nature and the adversity of circumstance, reinforced by the weight of a tradition of docile acceptance.

Here in the Terai were dedication and a fierce, practical energy. The manager of the enterprise, a tall, bearded Sikh, saw all the difficulties, for he had grappled with them from the early beginnings. "We must make a start," he cried. "We must aim at better crops, better animals, better birds, better trees, better health, better education, better food, and better homes." Well, he had made the start, as the sleek animals, fruiting trees, and rich harvests bore witness.

From the Terai we made our way north to realize my more selfish ambition. Our destination was a small town named Ranikhet, 7,500 feet up, where we were told we would see one of the best views of the Himalayan peaks. The news of our journey had gone ahead of us, and when we reached Ranikhet we were welcomed by a large gathering of all the notabilities. I was festooned by so many garlands that I blush to think what I looked like. This custom of hanging garlands round the necks of visitors has its drawbacks, especially when the flowers are saturated in water. It is not easy to maintain one's dignity with trickles of cold water running down one's back.

The sight of the Himalayas from the verandah of a mountain lodge above Ranikhet was all I could wish for and more. All the high peaks unfolded their chaste whiteness before us with the exception of Mt. Everest, which was too far to the east. The mountains worked their old magic with me. They smoothed the fretfulness from my spirit like wrinkles from a worn garment. I went to my most refreshing sleep in India.

# GIVE IT AWAY!

## Ike's Great Crusade . . . *by Michael W. Straus*

*Washington*

IN A give-away program that dwarfs all others the sixty-four (billion)-dollar question will be answered when President Eisenhower signs legislation "returning" the scarcely appraised underwater oil to states which the Supreme Court says never owned it. With that precedent clearly established, the "Big Deal" can go ahead with the regular double-or-nothing procedure, and a goodly portion of the remaining public resources—grazing lands, mineral rights, power sites, forests, fishing privileges, the real wealth of our national heritage—will be headed for the political auction block.

So far, in this process of taking apart a country laboriously put together and defended and preserved for more than 150 years, it has not been necessary to practice any sleight of hand or tricks with mirrors. Everything has been done right out in public by those who put both ears to the ground at the last election and heard a "mandate" to give away the ground itself. Their hearing was helped of course by the well-heeled, determined lobbies in the Capitol which knew just what they wanted before they made their campaign contributions.

Senator Hugh Butler, the Taft enthusiast from Nebraska, indicated what we must expect when the preliminary incantations were performed in the committee over which he presided. "I would like to say," he remarked, "that when the tidelands oil is settled—and I hope that will be rather definitely before too far in this session—there are plans for the introduction of a bill that will make the same thing applicable to public lands now held by the federal government." Senators Barrett and Hunt of Wyoming were delighted. Bills were flipped into the hopper forthwith. From the opposite pole of political philosophy came the confirmation. Adlai Stevenson paused in California, en route to the Orient, to say: "There are powerful interests who interpret the election as heralding an open season for retail and wholesale transfer to the states of our great national assets—the forests, the grazing lands, the water, and the minerals."

When Stevenson returns he will have seen "have-not" Asians who gave away their public resources decades ago and are now on the brink of communism, violently striving to repossess their heritage. In most countries he will have noted minor or major efforts at land reform. In Japan he has already seen that under American direction feudal corporate agriculture has been broken up by redistribution of the land into family-sized farms on the United States pattern; this was done while Congress was debating abandoning the anti-monopoly requirement in our Reclamation law. In many countries he will find that food production has priority over "defense" activities. Everywhere he will see resource developments going full blast, in contrast to our cutbacks for "economy." In no foreign country will he encounter the equivalent of our public-vs-private-power fight; public power won years ago. Indeed, when he completes his global circuit, he will have collected many

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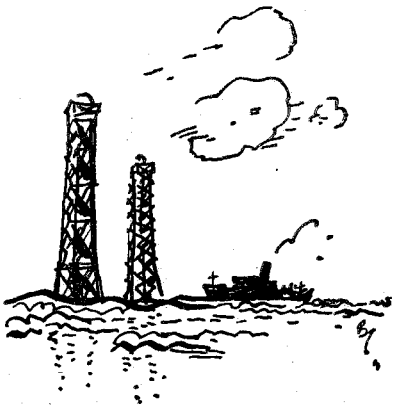
dramatic illustrations of what he meant by his departing warning that "our descendants will pay the price if we do not preserve their heritage for them."

WE ARE again starting down the primrose path. Even if the offshore oil of all the people is given away—at a time when the United States, the world's greediest consumer of petroleum products, has just begun to be a natural oil importer instead of exporter—America will still be a land of comparative milk and honey. In our national larder there still remains sufficient of most basic resources to support a larger population a long, long time in a superior standard of living. But a political symptom like the tidelands-oil donation telegraphs the news that the lid is loose on the honey pot, and the flies are buzzing around. Whether they get their fill now and our descendants get only the leavings remains to be seen. It will not happen all at once. It took millions of years for nature to fill that pot. Nobody wants to empty it merely for pleasure. The urge comes because we live in a fiercely competitive economy and the honey is getting scarcer and going up in price.

The fight to preserve our national wealth will be confused by distracting byplay. But if citizens keep their eyes on the prize money and see where that goes, they will be able to understand the game and pretty well know the score. One of the favorite, time-tested gambits of confusion is to raise the issue of states' rights. Those who engineered the tidelands transfer never advocated anything like a steal. They were simply defending a sacred, and ego-satisfying, principle of state sovereignty and proving their sturdy independence of an all-powerful and enveloping federal government. The fact that forty-five states lose and only three states win in this deal is simply an awkward phenomenon that must be overlooked.

The oil lobby and its statehouse colleagues make much of the fact that probably the same drillers would exploit the submerged oil regardless of whether it was for the account of three state governments or for all the people of the United States. That is true, but the question of who gets those multiple millions of dollars is a large one. In the matter of the submerged oil fields the faithfulness of the federal government



as a trustee cannot be directly compared with the faithfulness of Louisiana, Texas, and California. Presumably federal administration would be under policies and procedures specified in some law yet to be passed. But comparisons are possible with respect to water development, grazing lands, and forests. Here Uncle Sam, despite some shortcomings, has done a superior job in the public interest. Also the federal government is required actually to conserve oil for defense and has done so. The states acknowledge no such responsibility.

There exists, moreover, some "expert opinion" on the subject that nobody can challenge. It comes from the big oil companies which would do the exploiting under leases they would negotiate with either the states or the federal government. These parties-of-interest prefer to do business with the states—they know how to get what they want.

THE STATES'-RIGHTS device is being used and will be used in the contest for power as well as for land and minerals. The machinery is already in gear and has plenty of grease. It is operated by assorted governors' associations. Regardless of the fact that no federal law prevents the states from developing their own water power, no state has done so. Nevertheless, all gatherings of the governors' associations are replete with resolutions that the federal government should stay off the few remaining God-given hydroelectric power sites on this continent. As an alternative Uncle Sam could turn over title to the money-making power dams he has already built. Good politicians do not like to mention words like expropriation; they refuse to be crass enough even to discuss price. But obviously a write-off of, say, 99 cents on the dollar would go far to indemnify the states for the injury already done to their sovereign rights by the federal government's provision of low-cost power to their citizens. And guess who would turn up with a stranglehold on those kilowatts—the publicly owned or the privately owned utilities?

Some voters who are also consumers have drawn their own conclusions. As a result the utility corporations' fight against low-cost public power did not seem to be making much headway a few years ago. The people seemed to like cheap electricity. The organized utilities then decided it would be more fruitful to campaign against something people did not like. So they hired a professional public-opinion survey to tell them that what people don't like is socialism. And promptly the dailies, the slicks, and the pulps began to blossom out with full-page advertising, suitably echoed over bought radio time, contrasting the creeping, crawling, or galloping socialistic, tax-spending, cool, weak kilowatt with the tax-paying, business-managed, ruggedly individual white-hot, strong, private-enterprise kilowatt. There wasn't a dry eye in the house—certainly not among the utility spokesmen in the House of Representatives. A lot more tears will be shed on this subject before the Eighty-third Congress adjourns.

The world's record give-away program is off to a fast start under the new management in Washington. Tidelands oil was the first bill up. One fascinating thing about the program is that nobody knows just how much is being given away. Some conservative government estimates make it around forty billion dollars, but a guess by a respectable group of technicians hired by Texans is eighty billion. To say tidelands legislation is the answer to the sixty-four (billion)-dollar question may be a conservative statement.

Now stand by for the big DOUBLE-OR-NOTHING feature on this favorite program:

Item—456,000,000 acres of public land.

Item—161,000,000 acres of national forest.

Item—160,000,000 acres of federal grazing lands.

Item—52,000,000,000 kilowatt hours a year of federal power that produce real cash.

As is said in the Congressional barbershop, "Next!"



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# BOOKS

## Glory and Heartbreak

*HAROLD LASKI (1893-1950): A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR.* By Kingsley Martin. The Viking Press. $4.

**By Robert S. Lynd**

THIS has been a rich year for biographies—and they were badly needed. For deception, intimidation, and human wastage at present shred down man's spirit, and one craves contact with bigness in purpose, with courage and serenity. Particularly does one need a renewed sense of authenticity. These we have been getting from Joseph Barnes's "Willkie"; "Two Lives," devoted to Wesley Clair Mitchell and his wife, by the latter; Norbert Wiener's autobiographical account of his first thirty years in "Ex-Prodigy"; the "Holmes-Laski Letters"; and now Kingsley Martin's biography, so candid and deeply understanding, of Harold Laski.

When the strong die, lesser men may maneuver their own or others' shadows to lie across the dead. A case in point is the featured front-page column headed Laski Under a Cloud in the April, 1953, issue of *Economic Intelligence,* organ of the United States Chamber of Commerce. "For nearly a generation," it says, "the late Harold J. Laski . . . was the mentor . . . of the 'advanced thinkers.' . . . Now all this is changing, and many individuals are wondering just why they were taken in. Publication of the 'Holmes-Laski Letters' is a deep shock to many of his former admirers." Then follow four highly selective denigrating comments of a sentence or two each—comment on some personal foible that a man's friends come to recognize in the course of years of affectionate relations but damaging when repeated out of context. The column concludes: "Wide readership of the 'Letters' should make us all a bit more cautious in following the easy and facile solutions to tough problems advanced by our current crop of forward-lookers."

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These are bad times for men not content with defending the status quo. But it is because Laski pitched his life so inveterately at the future that this record of his complex personality as scholar, as teacher, and as man of action has deep meaning for us. For within these 270 pages one perceives the glory and the heartbreak of the courageous intellectual in our time. A. J. P. Taylor opens his review of the book in a leading British journal with the statement: "There are few men of whom one can truthfully say that the world would have been a different place without them. Harold Laski was one of those few."

As World War II progressed, Laski and Winston Churchill came to confront each other as polar types representing the new and the old potentials in Britain. Churchill's ideas and loyalties are conventional, and as A. G. Gardiner early noted, he is temperamentally "not so much concerned about who the enemy may be or about the merits of the quarrel as about being in the thick of the fight and having a good time." To such a lusty buccaneer war was an occasion for ringing affirmation of old values and for splendor in action. Laski, on the other hand, while loyally accepting the dreadful realities and duties of the war once it could no longer be prevented, saw it as an opportunity for British labor to learn through the experiences of wartime planning, discipline, and solidarity the necessary conditions for collective action in a socialized post-war Britain. He recognized Churchill as a "very great war leader." But once it became clear that Churchill wanted "to preserve traditional Britain" after the war, "using our people as a necessary lever for morale, but . . . not surrendering a single position of privilege," Laski unhesitatingly declared, "I shall try to make the Labor Party break with him on this issue." And in the effort to make labor grasp the magnitude of its opportunities and responsibilities, "he spent his physical strength, which was never large, and his nervous vitality, which was immense, in traveling night after night, after a day's teaching or a day of committee work, to address local Labor parties, factory meetings, miners' lodges, discussion groups of soldiers, sailors, and airmen; thereby he emphasized, with eloquent conviction, that the first essential task was victory, but that victory must mean a victory not for the old order but for the workaday people. . . ."

LASKI was not "born" a radical. He became a Socialist in his mature years, as he was forced to grapple with what has been called "the problem which confronts every reasoning man [today]—how to be both a liberal and a Marxist." His socialism came not through absorbing doctrine but through the fact that, as Kingsley Martin states it, his own life was a long search for the meaning of what Mr. Justice Holmes called "the inarticulate major premises" in a capitalist society. He saw more clearly than most the moral issues created by class privilege in a democratic society. And events of the late summer and fall of 1931 did much to clarify his stand: the Labor government collapsed ignominiously—to the rank and file it felt like treachery—under backstairs pressure from the bankers that reduction in the workers' standard of living must be the first step in overcoming financial crisis. This underscored for a considerable element in the Labor Party the fundamental correctness of Marxian materialism; and Laski even saw it as the first sharp break since 1689 in the British tradition of compromise. "I have no sort of doubt where I stand," he wrote. "I stay with the Left of Labor and, if necessary, I go to the extreme Left." Two years later his notable and uncompromising "Democracy in Crisis" appeared.

Then the sequel: Kingsley Martin, in retrospect, says the trouble was not that Laski "was wholly wrong but that he was far too dogmatic. He phrased his warnings with as little hesitation as Cassandra, and though he was not wrong in crying Woe! he was not always right in choosing the subject of lamentation. That did not prevent him from having his thoat cut in 1945." How many of us will groan in compassion over this dilemma! Standing amid the double-talk and slippery power tactics of this era, it is all right for one to see that something is wrong, and perhaps even to see what it is that is wrong; but to say so



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out loud, and boldly, is somehow always "too dogmatic."

Here one encounters one of the most fascinating aspects of the Laski story, documented over and over again in these pages. Laski clung to the belief that persuasion could somehow prevail. Endowed with great intellectual capacities and deep readiness to give and to cherish friendship, he had all his life "unconsciously assumed that those who abused him and differed from him nevertheless respected him." "He had the great art of making the faith he held a road to friendship." But, his biographer remarks, "his desire to give and to receive love made him an unsatisfactory rebel," for, while he could hate injustice, he found it hard to match his institutional condemnations with hatred of the concrete human agents of injustice. So his ardent faith in the possibility of creating a better future, when combined with the warmth of his personal ties, betrayed him into courses of action quite incompatible with his Marxism. He kept on—long beyond the point of realism—trying to influence by letter and in conference men caught up into large affairs of power. His faith in Franklin D. Roosevelt was little short of extravagant; as late as the fall of 1939 he thought the New Deal could be kept going "full steam ahead"; and later on he still believed that "liberal America" could make "England speak the right words and *do the right acts.*" At home it was a bitter disappointment to him to find that, as the issues became drawn, he was not wanted by the political powers that be: he was unready for the bluntness with which Churchill, as politician, could fob him off, preferring "a personal enemy who is political ally" to "a friend who is not a follower"; and likewise for Prime Minister Attlee's tart request in the summer of 1945, when Laski was still chairman of the Labor Party, that he stop embarrassing the government by his "irresponsible statements."

LASKI'S PROBLEMS were but intensified versions—owing to his great capacities—of those every responsible left intellectual faces in some degree today. Essentially, they involved at point after point the effort to form a bridge between different worlds; he sought to be both a distinguished scholar and an active influence in the routine affairs of Labor politics, and as a result his scholarship suffered. He worked loyally and generously with a labor movement which because of its structure and leaders found it difficult to face major change, and in the end the bureaucracy shunted him aside, though he remained the living symbol of British socialism to the constituency parties and to Continental Socialists. He was irritating to middle-class straddlers and no less so to the Communists, whom he criticized sharply but was unwilling to condemn without reserve. He refused to despair in an era of deepening cynicism, and in the last article he ever wrote he argued against Bertrand Russell's division of the world into two irreconcilable power blocs: "Lord Russell builds his policy upon despair. I build my policy upon hope." But all these things are the measure of Laski's strength. For the reorganization of falsely separated parts of life—on every level—into the wholeness in which they belong will continue to be an endeavor of men of intelligence and courage.

Space limitations force upon every reviewer selection and omission. In the present case this has meant the slighting of many things: the moving account of Laski's Jewish background; his related break with his family over his marriage, and his subsequent late awareness of anti-Semitism, at first only as applied against other Jews and then belatedly as leveled against himself by Ernest Bevin and others; the record of his years in the United States, his other home, years of great friendships and of battle, commencing with his involvement as a young Harvard instructor in the Boston police strike; his prodigal generosity as teacher and colleague of the young, admirably set forth in Norman MacKenzie's chapter on Cambridge in Wartime; the details of his years of loyal work with the Labor Party; and Kingsley Martin's very effective defense of the spirit, though not the minutiae, of the famous Laski tall stories. "Most of the stories," Mr. Martin concludes, "I learned by analyzing them through a period of years, were well founded in truth."

Harold Laski was a distinguished and very human being, and fortunately he has in Kingsley Martin a biographer who spares no relevant criticism but measures the full complexity of the man against the background of his time.


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# New Books in Brief

## "New" Criticism at Its Best

*THE FORLORN DEMON.* Didactic and Critical Essays. By Allan Tate. Regnery. $3.

These are essays, miscellaneous but arranged about a common center, by one of the most persistently interesting of the critics who cut loose a generation ago from both academic and journalistic traditions to become "new critics" in some sense of that term. Like several of the others, Mr. Tate adopted premises and discussed subjects so different from those current that to many readers he seemed to be exploring a private world in a private language, though both were often less private than simply currently neglected.

The central theme here is the distinction between communication," which is so much discussed today, and "communion," which Mr. Tate takes to be the real business of literature. Perhaps the sentences which will best indicate his thesis are these: "It is a tragedy of contemporary society that so much of democratic social theory reaches us in the language of *drive, stimulus,* and *response.* This is not the language of freemen; it is the language of slaves. The language of freemen substitutes for these words, respectively, *end, choice,* and *discrimination.*" A good many readers will probably find themselves sometimes establishing and sometimes losing contact with Mr. Tate's meaning, but it is very often well worth getting. Among other valid points clearly made is one concerning the "responsibility of the poet." Mr. Tate's definition of this makes more sense than is usually shown either by those who declare that the poet has none or by those who would make him responsible for the general health of society in specifically social and political ways.

## Close-up of Russian Life

*A WINDOW ON RED SQUARE.* By Frank Rounds, Jr. Houghton, Mifflin Company. $3.

A lively account of some eighteen months in Russia by a former newspaperman who joined the United States embassy in Moscow in January, 1951, as an attaché. A curious, enterprising, and well-read young man, Rounds insisted on seeing as much of the country and meeting as many Russians as he could. He presents a Russian neighbor at the opera with Puccini's biography and thus gains an opportunity to discuss with him "American war-mongering." (He finds that many Russians take the party charges with a grain of salt.) He visits the ancient city of Ryazan, where hotels are barred to him and he spends the chilly night cruising about in a taxi. He goes to the great Lenin Library, where an American is permitted to consult only a small part of the card catalogue. Like Hertzen, he watches the sunrise from Moscow's Sparrow Hill, and finds himself watched by a carload of plainclothesmen. He attends a piano recital by Shostakovich, where the music is preceded by a speech spanking the composer; he attends every play he can and recounts the blood-curdling plots of some of the anti-American masterpieces; he observes a session of a People's Court and a remarkably noisy chess tournament.

Rounds's book does not deal with Communist politics or politicians, and it preserves an admirable note of a search for the truth. That is perhaps one reason why this chatty, unpretentious, and often light-hearted story casts a more terrifying light on Russian life than most flag-waving anti-Soviet works.

## Democracy and Faith

*AMERICA'S WAY IN CHURCH, STATE AND SOCIETY.* By Joseph Martin Dawson. Macmillan. $2.50.

To the already long list of Baptist "witnesses" to the traditional Jeffersonian separation of church and state, Dr. Dawson's name is a welcome addition. His testimony is presented forthrightly; while vigorously attacking the current Roman Catholic misinterpretation of the First Amendment, he has no hesitation about questioning the principles of many Protestant leaders.

It is particularly interesting to find this stalwart adherence to strict organizational separation combined with a viewpoint that is both Southern and Fundamentalist. The "unreconstructed" Southerner peeps through briefly when Dawson asserts that the "misguided fervor" of the Abolitionists "may have added to the difficulty of solving the Negro problem." In fairness it must be said that this is a passing comment; in general this section of Dawson's book holds out a promise of better interracial relations when Southern Christians become more Christian.

The key to Dawson's thought about democracy is that it "is founded on a faith in God which produces faith in man." To many this statement is acceptable. Others may feel that a better statement would be: Democracy is a faith in man which may be founded on faith in God or may itself be regarded as fundamental.

## Is Europe Recovering?

*EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD ECONOMY.* By Robert Marjolin. Duke University Press. $2.

How successful has the Marshall Plan been? How well have such new approaches to European federation as the Schuman Plan, the European Payments Union, and the Organization for European Economic Cooperation worked? What are the prospects for freer world trade and generally rising living standards? In the temperate and clearly presented series of lectures that he delivered at Duke University in the fall of 1951, the secretary general of the O. E. E. C. answers these questions on the whole optimistically. Before the outbreak of the Korean war, Europe's dollar deficit had declined to $1,500,000,000 annually from a high in 1947 of $8,500,000,000. The European Payments Union has restored convertibility to European currencies. The O. E. E. C. has persuaded its members to reduce barriers to international trade. Major problems remain—overpopulation and raw-material scarcity in Italy, unstable currency, antiquated methods, and an unfair tax system in France, instability in the American economy, low living standards almost everywhere outside the United States. Perhaps M. Marjolin is somewhat too bland in his assessment of these difficulties, but he does not evade them. His lectures are a compact and valuable summary of Europe's post-war achievements and needs.



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## Desert Saint

*THE WARRIOR SAINT.* By R. V. C. Bodley. Little, Brown. $4.

The story of Charles de Foucauld, viscount of France, playboy, Trappist monk, hermit in Palestine, and missionary in the Sahara, killed by Senussi tribesmen in 1916 at the age of fifty-eight. The following note, found among his papers when his body was recovered by a detachment of French soldiers, gives the flavor of the man. "Consider you must die a martyr, shorn of everything, stretched on the ground, naked and unrecognizable, covered with blood and wounds, violently and painfully killed and, furthermore, hope that this may take place today. . . . Reflect often on this death so that you will be ready for it and be able to judge everything at its true value." A Frenchman as well as a desert saint, he was enormously useful to his country by his explorations, his knowledge of the Saharan tribes, and his friendships with the natives. A fascinating study of an extraordinary man.

# Theater

## Harold Clurman

TRUMAN CAPOTE'S "The Grass Harp" benefits from the bare production that the young people of the Circle in the Square give it. The Broadway production last spring was too ornate, too pretty-pretty, and largely miscast.

It is a slight and simple play of pleasant sentiment with glints of genuine talent. Occasionally it seems derivative of Carson McCullers. The writing is less spontaneous—tending now and again to a certain stiff and decorative archness. But the play's theme and feeling are valuable. With diffident humor it invites us to consider the plight of the odd folks of the world, the "special" people, the minorities, the misfits. A maladjusted orphan boy, a Negro maid, two spinsters—one crabbed and wilful, the other eccentrically delicate—a wistful and widowed country judge, are willy-nilly the non-conformists of a humdrum Sunday town. They hardly understand one another or themselves, and they are regarded with suspicion, not to say hostility, by their neighbors. They are usually in trouble because their difference makes them troublesome. Their natural impulse is to seek refuge away from the world. But if they have any wisdom at all they learn that they must live with themselves and others. The world may never quite reconcile itself to them, but it may come to realize that "courtesy is so necessary."

It is fitting that this "message" be whispered in the nook which is an unconventional Greenwich Village arena rather than shouted in a large theatrical emporium uptown. In our cosmopolitan civilization, where everything suffers from elephantiasis—and only the spirit is small—the quiet voice, the hinted word, and the modest suggestion acquire poignancy. In a world of big lies we should treasure the tiny truths.

Often in writing of plays I will deliberately emphasize and perhaps even overstress the theme or feeling inherent in a play's material rather than dwell on its plot. In the American theater we are obsessed by plot. True, the plot of a play should contain its meaning, but we frequently do not see the meaning for the plot. We do not realize sufficiently that a play's meaning may have a very different aspect from what its surface story indicates. Clifford Odets's "Golden Boy" is presumably about a boy who becomes a prize-fighter: it is actually about the artist who sells out.

In the art of painting the alert observer will recognize that a flower piece may connote many things besides a horticultural interest. The painting of a sacred subject may convey an emotion which by no stretch of the imagination could be conceived of as religious. But in the theater we are prone to look and run! We are eager to experience the impact of the story, and when that has registered, we rarely stop to consider what exactly has registered—in other words, what has been created by that impact.

Earlier in the season "The Emperor's Clothes" was generally reviewed with indifference or annoyance. It was a play about a professor who, having lost his job because of a few politically indiscreet manifestations, becomes a confused and shabby person till, impelled by his son's idealization of him, he renews his courage and dignity by defying the authorities who would demean and bru-


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talize him. But the play was not merely a parable for liberals on the subject of civil liberties. Its real theme was the recovery of "nobility" in a time when everything has become drab and shrunken. It was a play in which man's estate was seen through the romantic vision of nineteenth-century humanitarianism, wherein being a "hero" meant being a Man. The child in the play dreams of a nobility his old-fashioned father has pictured to him; the professor's wife and mother-in-law dream of a past nobility which they half know —but won't admit—has long ago become threadbare and shadowy. The professor is moved to enact a nobility which he had aspired to and boasted of but which had existed up to then only as an impulse of youth and a fantasy of age.

It may be argued that if this theme was not apparent to the audience, or the reviewers, it must have been the playwright's fault. This is altogether possible in many instances, but the argument as a generalization is based on a false hypothesis—namely, that we all understand the themes of the really fine plays. Traditionally "King Lear" is a play about filial ingratitude, in which case the play is practically over by the second act and is rather absurd to begin with. But as I see it, "King Lear" is about the folly of believing in any power but that of love. And who really knows what "Hamlet" means? Certainly, it is not a play about a man whom thought renders incapable of action: Hamlet is violently active throughout the play!

In our haste to enjoy the external excitements of the theater we often miss the essence of plays, like people who do not truly *see* a painting when they satisfy themselves only with the pleasure of recognizing what is represented. It is not so much the defective plays that we can't "get"; more frequently it is the best. "Camino Real," I have previously said, is thematically clearer than "A Streetcar Named Desire," which is artistically superior. And there is something "more" to "The Seven Year Itch" than meets the gladdened eye—although in this case, I agree, it is not necessary or wise to question what that is. By trying to appreciate what plays are really about —and here the critic may be of help— the pleasure of the theater or, if you will, its entertainment value is enhanced.

# Art

## S. Lane Faison, Jr.

AFTER the uncertain glory of many April days, spring and sculpture came to New York. They make a good combination, and the newly dedicated sculpture garden of the Museum of Modern Art is the best proof thereof I have ever seen. To set a proper historical perspective, I first visited the Metropolitan to see the new Aphrodite.

Despite much advance publicity, I was not altogether prepared for what must be called the Aphrodite Oenslager. The talents of this outstanding scene designer have been given full scope, and the results are certainly remarkable. Mirrors at the base of the figure reflect spotlights from above, and as the mirrors are cleverly disguised by botanical props and a russet curtain hangs beyond, the image of divinity rising cream-colored from water is effectively suggested. But at a price. The lighting is so strong that the slightly translucent marble looks rather too much like plexiglass. And afterward the other classical statues look dead and gray, like concrete. So much staging should not be necessary for beautiful sculpture, or even for a beautiful woman. Of the two, I think the Aphrodite gives us more of the latter than of the former. It is a copy made about 100 B. C. of a lost original of about 300 B. C., which in turn is strongly reminiscent of the Aphrodites of Praxiteles. Under such circumstances it is hard to find contact with the mind of a particular sculptor, and other Aphrodites, like the very similar one in the Uffizi, reinforce the ambiguity of the impact.

HERBERT FERBER, whose exhibition at the Betty Parsons Gallery closed May 2, provides no Aphrodites whatever. His divinities resemble Zeus's thunderbolts more than Zeus, and some of them are dark and spectral. One has as little doubt that this art is personal as that it is communicated specifically and directly through sculptural forms. Last year the thunderbolts shaped themselves into a twelve-foot image of the Bush That Was Not Consumed, an image that dominated the show called Fifteen Americans at the Museum of Modern Art, just as a photomural of its present appearance on the façade of the synagogue at Milburn dominated the show which has just closed. The first study, in metal at a scale under ten inches, was also included, but not the intermediate study at about half the size of the final work. A somewhat similar composition, titled Number 3, appeared in both the small original and the six-foot version, and one can only hope that some enlightened architect will discover how magnificently it would enhance a very large blank wall, preferably outdoors.

In a previous column I made a plea for opportunities for big mural commisions for painters like Adolph Gottlieb who have a bold sense of scale, and the same reasons argue in favor of Herbert Ferber. In his case, texture and color offer further inducements: the solder roughly laid over copper sheathing with a blow torch, catching the light as forcefully as a Pollock and as sensitively as a Rouault, and weathering after a few months to a dark silver-gray. In the sculpture garden of the Museum of Modern Art an open sphere composed of forms of the same character as Number 3 holds firm against a stand of large evergreens. In the best Ferbers the elements are violent, but the total effect is one of great restraint. Among our current Fauves, Ferber is movingly classic.

Not many years ago it was fashionable to decry Rodin, particularly among those who considered a block of stone more interesting than its transformation. The recent work of Lipchitz, not to mention the work of younger sculptors like Roszak, points up the expressive force that Rodin achieved and the force of influence that his art once again exerts. The retrospective exhibition of sculpture which now occupies all the ground-floor galleries of the Museum of Modern Art, as well as its new sculpture garden, very properly begins with Rodin, and includes three magisterial creations in bronze—John the Baptist, the Call to Arms, and the Balzac.

The impulse toward geometric simplification and the rebirth of interest in



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pre-Parthenon Greek sculpture, notably Olympia, which Maillol gave to sculpture in the first years of the twentieth century rather quickly dried up, particularly as lesser sculptors developed direct carving into a mere cult. I think Zorach, who is also represented, is to some extent a victim of this disease. Maja, a standing nude bronze by Gerhard Marcks, is also affected by it, despite the difference of medium. Marcks can be very powerful in warped and angular forms redolent of the German Middle Ages. For its exhibition the museum has borrowed from Duisburg Lehmbruck's Seated Youth, perhaps his last work and perhaps his best, even finer than the Standing Youth and Kneeling Woman in the museum's permanent collection. These incredibly sensitive forms already suggest Giacometti, but in addition the interlace of arms and legs in Seated Youth surrounds and molds hollow forms in a way that makes Henry Moore's reclining figures seem much less of a break with preceding sculpture.

All the major sculptors are represented in this wonderful exhibition and by some of their best works. Examples of the last decade are, of course, more generous in number, and the selection becomes more arguable as historical perspective decreases. For the record, I think that Mary Callery is more decorative than profound and that David Smith's Banquet, here shown, will turn out to be one of his minor efforts.

# Records

## B. H. Haggin

THE year has given us the Metropolitan's producion of Musorgsky's own "Boris Godunov" and HMV's recording of the Rimsky-Korsakov version. It has been possible, then, to hear what Rimsky considered to be "the fragmentary character of the musical phrases, the harshness of the harmonies and modulations, the faulty counterpoint, the poverty of the instrumentation, and the general weakness of the work from the technical point of view" that called for his corrective revision; and to discover that nothing in Musorgsky's writing called for correction, that everything sounded right, true, powerfully effective, achieved with assurance and mastery, and that Rimsky's changes to make the music conform to his taste were a falsification of Musorgsky's work. This was true even of the orchestration: Musorgsky's "sonorous image" (to borrow Aaron Copland's term) had been right, but his instrumental realization of it hadn't carried effectively in the opera house; and what this had called for was a more effective realization, such as Karol Rathaus had attempted for the Metropolitan production, not a substitution of the sonorous image of "Le Coq d'or."

It may seem extraordinary that at this late date, when the Metropolitan at last produced Musorgsky's "Boris," HMV recorded Rimsky's. But in this episode it isn't only what has happened to Musorgsky's work that is extraordinary, but the way people's minds have operated, and continue to operate, in relation to it. Thus, for years it has been the accepted belief that whatever might be said of Rimsky's changes they had enabled a work that had failed in its original form to be performed with success. That belief goes back to Rimsky's statements in justification of his revision; and it has continued, amazingly, in the face of his own testimony to the contrary: the passage in "My Musical Life" in which he says Musorgsky's "Boris" was produced in 1874 "with great success" and continued to be performed "with uninterrupted success" until 1882, and in which, discussing possible reasons for the cessation of the performances, he speaks of "rumors that the opera had displeased the imperial family . . . gossip that its subject was unpleasant to the censors," but says nothing about defects or difficulties of the work itself. With that contradicting passage plain to read in the 1942 edition of "My Musical Life" Carl Van Vechten wrote nevertheless in his introduction that Rimsky "made it possible for Musorgsky's music drama to be performed"; and even the compilers of the documentary material in "The Musorgsky Reader" quoted and accepted the statement in "My Musical Life" that the revision satisfied the "need of an edition for performances, for practical artistic purposes," but did not quote the passage which revealed there had been no need of such revision for that purpose. As a result those who listened to Musorgsky's own "Boris" this year did so with the idea that they were hearing a work whose inept crudities had caused it to fail when it was first produced, and some must have been unable to hear the work whose remarkable qualities brought it success from the start.

More important: Poems, novels, paintings have been criticized, but I don't recall anyone ever having gone so far as to rewrite or repaint what he considered to be faulty in someone else's work. Moreover, if it had ever been discovered that this had been done, there would have been no debate about whether the work was more effective with the changes or without them, and whether they should be retained or not: it would have been

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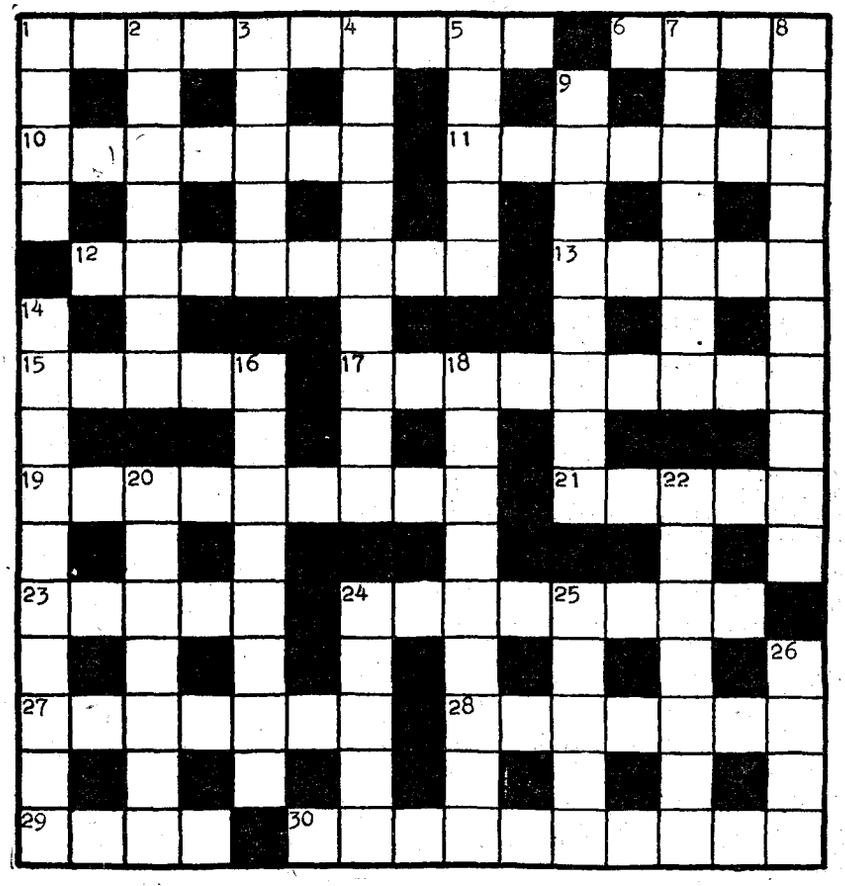
# Crossword Puzzle No. 515

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

1 Argues how to form a sect? (10)
6 See 9 down.
10 Something which might be welcome about the house of the religious man. (7)
11 If silt got in your throat, it would be out of place. (7)
12 Old men of war and men-of-war were. (8)
13 Side, along with the absence of air. (5)
15 Nothing green should be so open. (5)
17 1 down is about a true yet false representation of motors. (9)
19 The Swiss might have been alive then, but the term isn't so common now. (9)
21 New Year's Eve should suggest a small brand! (5)
23 This might be found near a place of battle. (5)
24 Othello, for example, is back on a tear! (4, 4)
27 Soldiers and stoves might be. (7)
28 Damozel? (3, 4)
29 Do dicers lose their color when they do? (4)
30 See 9 down.

## DOWN

1 Virgil sang of this and the man. (4)
2 More power to Holmes' shay, by the sound of it! (Quite alarming, once!) (2, 5)
3 Erstwhile Roman, not scratched up. (5)
4 An Arabian relative of 10 is about to speak of a neutralizer. (9)
5 Are some swords doubly advanced? (5)
7 Certainly not under-garments! (7)
8 Look at the record? Certainly! (10)
9, 30 across, 6 across, 18 down, 14 down, 16 down. Exercise of political expediency? (16 words—no lengths given for obvious reasons!)
14, 16 and 18. See 9 down.
20 Haul a fish up in this direction. (7)
22 Forbid a journalist to make up something out of whole cloth? (7)
24 Spoke like one of these, perhaps. (5)
25 Get set with 24 minus 1 plus 0. (5)
26 Give this a try, and you'll get the side on which Jonson placed Shakespeare. (4)

• ✠ •

**SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 514**

ACROSS:—1 SOUNDING BOARD; 10 IDEATED; 11 IN THESI; 12 DISPARAGE; 13 FIEND; 14 IRENIC; 16 ADDICTED; 19 MEDALLIC; 20 SHADES; 22 FICHU; 23 VARIOLOUS; 25 CRISPIN; 26 MATISSE; 27 REVOLVING FUND.

DOWN:—2 OMENS; 3 NATHANIEL BUMPPO; 4 INDIAN; 5 GRISELDA; 6 and 9 OUT OF SIGHT OUT OF MIND; 7 RE-ELECTED; 8 HINDUISM; 15 ENDOCRINE; 17 DESISTED; 18 LITVINOV; 21 TRUMAN; 22 FACE; 24 OLSEN.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.



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taken as a matter of course that they had no validity and that the original work must be restored (though certainly if some academician had "corrected" what for him were the faults and crudities of a Van Gogh it would have been recognized that the result was not an improvement but a falsification). But in the case of "Boris" we find the celebrated Ernest Newman writing after a production of Musorgsky's first version that the problem of which "Boris" to produce is one of choosing not merely between Musorgsky's own two versions, each complete and with merits of its own, but from these two and Rimsky's, since "rail as the specialists may at Rimsky-Korsakov . . . he has given the theater a good practical proposition"; and that the ideal solution is to give all three. Even more perceptive critics like Desmond Shawe-Taylor and Edward Sackville-West also decide, "after frequent hearings and examinations of both versions, that the case against Rimsky has been overstated," and that the differences in the Farewell and Death of Boris "are comparatively small."

And even the most accurately perceptive and clearest-minded of present-day English writers, Gerald Abraham, who recognizes in the booklet of the HMV recording that by applying to "Boris" an art whose "essence . . . is brightly tinted transparency, clear-cut harmonies and part-writing realized in primary orchestral colors" Rimsky "imprinted his own personality over the entire work"—even Mr. Abraham goes on to conclude that "the result is—like Mozart's rescoring of 'Messiah' . . .—a fascinating posthumous collaboration of two very different but very fine musical minds, and we must accept it (as we do Mozart's 'Messiah') for a masterpiece in its own right, without clouding our pleasure by overmuch reference to the quite different values of the original version." Which is to say that he fails to perceive the difference between Mozart's rescoring of Handel's "Messiah" and Rimsky's recomposition of Musorgsky's "Boris," and the disparity between the mind that produced "Boris" and the mind that produced "Le Coq d'or."

After all this the simple good sense of the Metropolitan's reasoning—that if one is going to give Musorgsky's "Boris" one should give the "Boris" Musorgsky wrote—becomes something of a miracle.


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